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# The Transmission of Indian Ayurvedic Doctrines in Medieval China:

## A Case Study of *Aṣṭāṅga* and *Tridoṣa* Fragments from the Silk Road\*

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From the late Han to the Tang dynasties (first—tenth centuries CE), along with the diffusion of Buddhism, ancient Indian medical knowledge and practices, especially the Ayurvedic and Buddhist medical systems, spread into China. Many drugs, prescriptions, remedies, techniques and surgical methods from India (notably the method of *jīnzhen bozhang fa* 金針撥障法, “couching for cataracts”<sup>1</sup>) are recorded in the Chinese medical texts that have been handed down from ancient times. The relationship between ancient Indian and Chinese medicine has been an important topic for research in the history of medieval Chinese medicine. With regard to medical doctrines, scholars of medical history have long been well aware of the Indian influence on Chinese medicine. For example, the concepts of *Sida chengshen* 四大成身 (the four great constituent elements of the human body) and *Sibai sibing* 四百四病 (The 404 ailments of the body) are known to be influenced by Indian medicine.<sup>2</sup> However, up until now there has never been any discussion of the influence of Ayurvedic doctrines.

\* I would like to thank Dr. Dominik Wujastyk for many suggestions and Ms. Penelope Barrett for correcting my English.

<sup>1</sup> Vijaya Deshpande, “Indian influence on early Chinese ophthalmology: glaucoma as a case study”, *BSOAS*, 62:3, 1999, pp. 306-322. Vijaya Deshpande, “Ophthalmic surgery: a chapter in the history of Sino-Indian medical contacts”, *BSOAS*, 63:3, 2000, pp. 370-388. Fan Ka Wai 范家偉, “Tangsong shidai Yanneizhang yu Jinzhen Bozhang Shu” 唐宋時代眼內障與金針撥障術 [*Yanneizhang and Jinzhen bozhang fa* during the Tang and Song Periods], *Hanxue Yanjiu* 《漢學研究》 [Chinese Studies], vol. 22: 2, 2004, pp. 271-297. See also Fan, Ka Wai, “Couching for cataract and Sino-Indian medical exchange from the sixth to the twelfth century AD”. *Clinical & Experimental Ophthalmology* 33 (2), 2005, pp. 188-190.

<sup>2</sup> Unschuld, Paul U., “The Chinese Reception of Indian Medicine in the First Millennium A.D.”, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 53:3, 1979, pp. 329-345. Shen Junlong 申俊龍, “Fojiao sidashuo dui chuantong yixue de yingxiang” 佛教四大說對傳統醫學的影響 [The influence of the Four Great Elements of Buddhism on traditional medicine], *Nanjing daxue xuebao* 南京大學學報 [Journal of Nanjing University], 2001:3, pp. 73-78. Wang Junzhong 王俊中, “Zhongguo zhonggu fojiao yixue jidian yiti chuyi: Yi Sida he bingyinshuo weizhu” 中國中古佛教醫學幾點論題芻議——以“四大”和“病因說”為主 [A study on some topics of Buddhist medicine in Medieval China], *Gujin lunheng* 古今論衡 [Disquisitions on the Past & Present], vol. 8, 2002, pp. 130-143.

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From the end of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, many western explorers journeyed along the Silk Road to the so-called Western Regions in North-west China. They found and collected many manuscripts and fragments. We now know that these included medical manuscripts in various languages. These manuscripts certainly constitute important new primary sources for research on the history of Sino-Indian medical interchange. In the recently published *Dunhuang manuscripts collected in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia*,<sup>3</sup> there are two fragments, identified as D<sub>x</sub>09888 and D<sub>x</sub>18173, which deal with *aṣṭāṅga*- and *tridoṣa*-respectively. This paper discusses the content and significance of the two fragments, and the transmission of Ayurvedic doctrines in Dunhuang and Turfan. This is a new page in the history of Sino-Indian medical exchange.

## I: D<sub>x</sub>09888: Translation and Annotation

D<sub>x</sub>09888 is a fragment written in Chinese in six lines on both sides, with about ten to fourteen words in each line. A photograph is published in *Dunhuang manuscripts collected in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia*, vol. 14.<sup>4</sup>

Translation:

1. ... path....
2. ...the man who is poor and lowly...,
3. ...ability and advantage. This is the first mark of a medical professional (doctor), one who is fully versed in the eight methods (of Ayurveda concerning all treatments of diseases).
4. [Question:] What are the eight methods? List their names, please.
5. Answer: The recipes for treating [diseases of] the head and eyes and for introduction into the nose are the first (medical) method.
6. [Answer:] The five viscera and six *fu*-organs, internal disorders, feeling the pulse and the treatment of ... constitute the second (medical) method.
7. ...[Removing evil] *qi*, and removing demonic spirits (or the *qi* of ghosts) is the third (medical) method.
8. The [treatment of] sores (especially injuries to the skin), pyogenic infections of the skin (or painful swellings of the body surface), incised wounds (or metal-

<sup>3</sup> *E zang Dunhuang wenxian* 俄藏敦煌文獻 [Dunhuang manuscripts collected in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia], volume 1-17, ed. by St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia et al., Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992-2001.

<sup>4</sup> *E zang Dunhuang wenxian* 俄藏敦煌文獻 [Dunhuang manuscripts collected in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia], vol. 14, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000, p. 207.

inflicted wounds, stab wounds) and hemafrica (bleeding before or after defecation) is the fourth (medical) method.

9. Various prescriptions for antidotes to remove all poisons [from inside the body], and the making of elixirs of longevity (or to maintain life indefinitely)...
10. This is the fifth (medical) method. To cure various diseases of children...
11. and so on, this is the sixth branch. To cure surely ..., [This is the seventh branch.]
12. (The following is missing)

Judging from the content and appearance, I think that D̡x09888 and eight other fragments (including D̡x09170, D̡x09178, D̡x09882, D̡x09935, D̡x09936, D̡x10092 and D̡x12495) belong to the same group of manuscripts as TIIY49R/Ch.3725R *Qipo Wuzang Lun* 耆婆五藏論 [Jīvaka's Treatise on the Five Viscera] and TIIY49V/Ch.3725V *Zhuyifangsui* 諸醫方髓 [Essential Parts of Various Selected Medical Remedies], now in the Berlin collection, which were unearthed in the ancient city of Jiaohe 交河 by the German explorers A. Grünwedel and A. von Le Coq on their second expedition to Turfan between September 1904 and December 1905.<sup>5</sup>

D̡x09888 lists the first six of the eight branches of Ayurveda. The term *bashu* 八術 (the eight methods) in D̡x09888 is of key importance. The original Sanskrit term corresponding to *bashu* 八術 is *aṣṭāṅga-* (plural *aṣṭāṅgāṇi*). *Aṣṭa-* means eight, while *aṅga-* means branch, part or member. In Ayurvedic texts, *Aṣṭāṅga-* not only refers to the eight parts or branches of Ayurveda, but also becomes synonymous with medical science. In *Suśruta's Suśruta-Saṃhitā*, the eight branches [or Ashtangas] of Ayurveda consist of śalya-tantra, śālākya-tantra, kāya-cikitsā, bhūta-vidyā, kaumāra-bhṛtya, agada-tantra, rasāyana-tantra and vājikaraṇa-tantra.<sup>6</sup> *Siddhasāra* is an important medical work that was edited by Ravigupta around the mid-seventh century CE. The content of *Siddhasāra* comes from other medical texts. Although it is not as central as *Aṣṭāṅgabhyāsa Saṃhitā* to Indian medicine, *Siddhasāra* exists in several Sanskrit manuscripts, and many versions in other languages such as Tibetan, Khotanese, Uighur and Arabic are found in Central Asia. It reflects the achievements of Ayurveda in India at the time, but its influence extends much further<sup>7</sup>. The first verse of *Siddhasāra* also explains the meanings of *Aṣṭāṅga*-<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> CHEN Ming 陳明, *Shufang yiyao: Chutu wenshu yu xiyu yixue* 殊方異藥——出土文書與西域醫學 [Medical Manuscripts Discovered in Dunhuang and the Western Regions: Foreign Medicine in Medieval China], Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2005, pp. 157-167.

<sup>6</sup> Dominik Wujastyk, *The Roots of Ayurveda: Selections from Sanskrit medical writings*, London: Penguin Books, 2003, p. 205. Cf. C. Vogel, "On Buxton's view of the eight parts of Indian medicine", *IJJ*, VI, 3/4, 1963, pp. 290-295.

<sup>7</sup> According to the research of late Professor R. E. Emmerick, the Khotanese version of *Siddhasāra* in Dunhuang is a translation from Tibetan text of *Siddhasāra* made around the tenth century CE. In the Khotanese version of *Siddhasāra*, there appears the Sogdian name of Zhang Jinshan 張金山 who was a speaking ambassador from the kingdom of Khotan to Dunhuang. This manuscript was probably written later than D̡x18173. The question of whether the Khotanese version of *Siddhasāra* influenced D̡x18173 still awaits demonstration. See Chen Ming 陳明, "Yindu fanwen yidian Yilijinhua jiqi Dunhuang yutianwen

The branches are listed as follows: śālākya, kāya-cikitsā, bhūta-cikitsā, śalya, agada, vayo-rakṣā, bāla-rakṣā and bija-vivardhana. Their sequence differs from that in *Suśruta-Saṃhitā* and *Siddhasāra*. *Baṣhu* is discussed in the Chinese Buddhist canon and the commentaries on the Buddhist canon as well by Chinese monks. In chronological order, these discussions are as follows:

In the sixth folio of the *Daban nibuan jing* 大般涅槃經 [*Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*], translated by Faxian 法顯 (337-422 CE) in the fourteenth year of the Yixi 義熙 period (418 CE) of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, *baṣhu* is rendered as *bazhongshu* 八種術 (eight kinds of [medical] methods).<sup>9</sup>

There are two translations of *aṣṭāṅga-* in *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 [*Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*], translated by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 (385-433 CE) in the tenth year of the Xuanshi 玄始 period (421 CE) of the Northern Liang Dynasty: *bazhongyao* 八種藥 (eight kinds of drugs) and *bazhongshu* 八種術 (eight kinds of [medical] methods). The first translation appears in the ninth folio in the sentence “... like a good physician who knows *bazhongyao* 八種藥 (the eight kinds of drugs), which cure all disorders except for certain death.”<sup>10</sup> The second appears in volume twenty-five: “For example, a good physician knows *bazhongshu* 八種術 (the eight kinds of [medical] methods). He first observes the patient’s symptoms, which fall into three types.”<sup>11</sup>

The *Sāṃkhya* text *Jinqishilun* 金七十論 [*Sāṃkhyakārikā*] was translated by Paramārtha 真諦 (499-569 CE) in the tenth year of the Xuanshi 玄始 period (421 CE) of the Northern Liang Dynasty. It refers to the “eight divisions of medical remedies, which can remove the sufferings of the human body.”<sup>12</sup> According to another extant Sanskrit text of the *Sāṃkhyakārikā*, the term corresponding to *bafen yifang* 八分醫方 (eight divisions of medical remedies) is *āyurveda-śāstra*, which means the treatises of *Āyurveda*.

The second folio of *Daban niepan jing yiji* 大般涅槃經義記 [Record of the treatise on *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*] written by Huiyuan 慧遠 (523-592 CE) of Jingying Temple 淨影寺 in the Sui period, provides the following explanation of *baṣhu*:

“*xiēben*” 印度梵文醫典《醫理精華》及其敦煌蘭文寫本 [The Indian medical text *Siddhasāra* in Sanskrit and its Khotanese version from Dunhuang], *Dunhuang Yanjiu* 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Studies], 2000.3, pp. 115-127.

<sup>9</sup> “In that (connection), the chapter on the Tantra will be expounded: As for the sections (aṅgāni) of this, they are : (1) cyc-medicines (śālākya); (2) healing the body (kāya-cikitsā-); (3) removing demons (bhūta-cikitsā-); (4) extracting foreign bodies (śalya-); (5) protecting from poison (agada-rakṣā); (6) protecting life (vayo-rakṣā); (7) protecting children (bāla-rakṣā); (8) making sperm increase (bija-vivardhanam).” See R. E. Emmerick, *Siddhasāra of Rāvigupta*, Volume 2: *The Tibetan text with English translation* (= Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, ed. W. Voigt, Supplementband 23.2), Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1982, p. 15

<sup>10</sup> T. 12, p. 893a. (T. points to Takakusu Junjirō, Watanabe Kaigyoku ed., *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, 100 volumes, Tokyo: Taisho Issaikyo Kankokai, 1924-1934).

<sup>11</sup> T. 12, p. 419b.

<sup>12</sup> T. 12, p. 511b.

<sup>13</sup> T. 54, p. 1245b. Jizang 吉藏 (549-623CE) in *Bailun Shu* 百論疏 [Commentary on *Śatka-śāstra*], volume I, also used this word *Bafen yifang* 八分醫方 (T. 42, p. 244b).

... Whoever knows the eight methods, which are comparable to the dharma of Buddha Tathagata as the basis of medicine. What are the eight methods? The first is the knowledge of the diseased body, The second is the knowledge of pathogeny; the third is the knowledge of the appearance of diseases; the fourth is the knowledge of the location of diseases, whether in the five viscera, or in the limbs and joints; the fifth is the knowledge of the time of diseases, what kinds of diseases arises in the morning, and so forth; the sixth is the knowledge of drugs and the identification of the appearance of drugs; the seventh is the knowledge of treatments, knowing which drugs cure which diseases; the eighth, is the knowledge of the prohibition on drugs, which diseases are compatible with which drugs, food prohibitions, and so forth.<sup>13</sup>

This explanation reflects the intention of the Buddhist author to draw parallels between Buddha dharma and medicine.<sup>14</sup> But it does not help us to understand the original meaning of *bashu* in medicine.

The *Daban niepan jing shu* 大般涅槃經疏 [Commentary on *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*] written by Master Zhang'an 章安 (561-632 CE) in the Sui Dynasty and re-edited by Master Zhanran 湛然 (711-782 CE) in the Tang Dynasty, volume six, glosses *bazhongshu* as follows.

The beginning of this text points out that a physician is familiar with the eight kinds of medical methods (*bashu* 八術), including the treatment of the body (*zhisheng* 治身), the treatment of the eyes (*zhiyan* 治眼), the treatment of the foetus (*zhitai* 治胎), the treatment of children (*zhixiao'er* 治小兒), the treatment of wounds, injuries or trauma (*zhichuang* 治創), the treatment of poisoning (*zhidu* 治毒), the treatment of evil spirits (*zhixie* 治邪), the knowledge of astrology (*zhixing* 知星). The inner meaning of this corresponds to the Buddha's knowing the Noble Eightfold Path and curing the eightfold reversible diseases (*badaobing* 八倒病) and so forth.<sup>15</sup>

But in fact Zhang'an's last branch does not correspond to any of the Ayurvedic āngas.

In *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 [A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago], volume three, the famous Buddhist scholar and pilgrim I-tsing (Yijing, 義淨) (615-713 CE) calls it the "eight of medicine"

<sup>13</sup> T. 37, pp. 649c-650a.

<sup>14</sup> With regard to the relationship between the four noble truths and medicine, cf. Hendrik Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, reprint Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1968, pp. 46-47. Albrecht Wezler, "On the Quadruple Division of the Yogaśāstra, the Caturvyūhatva of the Cikitsāśāstra and the 'Four Noble Truths' of the Buddha," *Indologica Taurinensia* 12, 1984, pp. 289-337. Wilhelm Halbfass, "The Therapeutic Paradigm and the Search for Identity in Indian Thought", *Tradition and Reflection: Explorations in Indian Thought*, State University of New York Press, 1990, pp. 243-63.

<sup>15</sup> T. 38, pp. 72c-73a.

(*bayi* 八醫) and gives a more detailed explanation. Takakusu Junjirō has translated it into English as follows:

The medical science, one of the five sciences (*vidyā*) in India, shows that a physician, having inspected the voice and countenance of the diseased, prescribed for the latter according to the eight sections of medical science (see below). If he does not understand the secret of this science, he will, though desirous of acting properly, fall into mistakes. The following are the eight sections of medical science. The first treats of all kinds of sores 所有所瘡; the second, of acupuncture of any disease above the neck 針刺首疾; the third, of the diseases of the body 身患; the fourth, of demoniac disease 鬼瘴; the fifth, of the Agada medicine (i.e. antidote) 惡揭陀藥; the sixth, of the diseases of children 童子病; the seventh, of the means of lengthening one's life 長年方; the eighth, of the method of invigorating the legs and body 足身力. 'Sores' are two kinds, inward and outward. The diseases above neck are all that is on the head and face; any disease lower down from the throat is called a 'bodily' disease. The 'Demoniac' is the attack of evil spirits; and the 'Agada' is the medicine for counteracting poisons. By 'Children' is meant from the embryo stage until after a boy's sixteenth year; 'lengthening life' is to maintain the body so as to live long, while 'invigorating the legs and body' means to keep the body and limbs strong and healthy.<sup>16</sup>

Having stayed in India for many years, I-tsing rightly points out that the eight sections of medicine belong to the *Vaidya-sthāna* (medical science).

I-tsing translated *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamarājasūtra* 金光明最勝王經 into Chinese in the third year of the Chang'an period (703 CE). In the ninth folio, *Chubing Pin* 除病品 [Chapter on healing illness], he also uses the term *bashu*,<sup>17</sup> which he explains as follows.

You should understand the eightfold treatise on medicine, and grasp various ideas in general. If you are fully versed in this science (medicine), you can heal people's illnesses. By this is meant punctures, wounds and trauma, bodily diseases, ghosts and spirits, evil poisons, children, prolonging life and increasing energy or strength.<sup>18</sup>

The last sentence is a simple list of *bashu*. But this is not present in the Sanskrit text

<sup>16</sup> Wang Bangwei 王邦維 ed., *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan jiaozhu* 南海寄歸內法傳校注 [Notes on A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago], Zhonghua shuju, 1995, p. 151. See Takakusu Junjirō (tran.), *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, 1896. Reprint. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1982, pp. 127-128.

<sup>17</sup> "A merchant called Jaṭimdhara, a doctor, a medical man, expert in the chief elements. He was fully versed in the eightfold treatise on medicine." (Translated by Chen Ming).

<sup>18</sup> T. 16, pp. 447c-448b. For discussion of this chapter, see Johannes Nobel, "Ein alter medizinischer Sanskrit-Text und seine Deutung". *Supplement to the Journal of the American Oriental Society*, no. 11, 1951, pp. 1-35.

*Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* or another Chinese version made by Dharmakṣetra.

The *Jingguangming zuishengwang jingshu* 金光明最勝經疏 [Commentary on *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamarājasūtra*] by Huizhao 慧沼 (650-714 CE), volume six, says:

*Bashu* includes, first, the method of piercing with needles (*Beizhenci fa* 被針刺法); second, the treatment of wounds and injuries (*Poshang fa* 破傷法); third, the treatment of bodily diseases (*Shenji* 身疾), namely the four kinds of diseases; fourth, of harm caused by ghosts (*Guisun* 鬼損); fifth, the treatment of poisons (*Zhongduyao* 中毒藥); sixth, the treatment of children (*Liaobaitong* 療孩童); seventh, prolonging life (*Yanshou* 延壽); eighth, nourishing life (*Yangshen* 養身).<sup>19</sup>

In *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 [Pronunciation and meanings of the entire Buddhist canon], a famous dictionary of the vocabulary of Buddhist texts, compiled by Huilin 慧琳 in 783-807 CE, the term “eight kinds of [medical] methods” (*bazhongshu* 八種術) is defined as:

The treatment of the body, of the eyes, of sores, of children, of ghosts, of poisons, of the foetus, by horoscopy, see the *Commentary on Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*.<sup>20</sup>

In the same folio, the term *Jie bazhong yao* 解八種藥 (understanding eightfold medicine) is also found. This is defined as:

The treatment of the body, of the eyes, of sores, of children, of evil ghosts, of poisons, of illness of the fetus, by horoscopy. This is as stated by Jivaka as follows.<sup>21</sup>

Following the sequence of *aṣṭāṅga-* in *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, the original Sanskrit terms and Chinese translations may be listed as follows:

(1) *śalya-*, *śalya-tantra* or *śāstra cikitsā* means the removal of foreign bodies. It deals with the treatment of wounds and traumas requiring the use of the knife. It corresponds to *Zhichuang* 治創 (treatment of wounds), *Suoyou zhuchuang* 所有所瘡 (all kinds of sores), *Shangpo* 傷破 (wounds and traumas), *Liao poshang fa* 療破傷法 (treatment of traumas and wounds) and *Zhichuang* 治瘡 (treatment of sores).

(2) *śālākya*, *śālākya-tantra*, *urdhvāṅga cikitsā* deals with the treatment of diseases of the head including the eyes, ears, nose, throat and teeth. It has four Chinese translations: *Zhenci shouji* 針刺首疾 (needle treatment of any disorder above the neck), *Zhenci* 針刺 (puncturing with a needle), *Beizhenci fa* 被針刺法 (the method of puncturing with a needle) and *Zhiyan* 治眼 (treatment of eye disease). It should be noted that “needle” here

<sup>19</sup> T. 39, p. 325c.

<sup>20</sup> T. 54, p. 466c.

<sup>21</sup> T. 54, p. 471b.



refers to instruments of surgery, not to the needles used for acupuncture in ancient Chinese medicine.

(3) Kāya-cikitsā, treatment of the body. This branch deals with the treatment of diseases arising from disorders of digestive activity, and other illnesses such as fever that affect the whole body. According to I-tsing, it refers to the treatment of diseases of the body from the neck downwards. It corresponds to the Chinese terms *Zhishen* 治身 (treatment of the body), *Shenbuan* 身患 (diseases of body) and *Shenji* 身疾 (diseases of body).

(4) Bhūta refers to ghosts, the devil, evil spirits or non-human entities. Bhūta-cikitsā, bhūta-vidyā or Graha cikitsā means the treatment of diseases caused by supernatural beings, arising from possession by evil spirits, pathogenic micro-organisms etc. It deals mainly with mental diseases. Chinese equivalents include *Zhixie* 治邪 (treatment of evil spirits), *Guizhang* 鬼障 (ghosts and miasmas), *Guisben* 鬼神 (ghosts and spirits), *Guisun* 鬼損 (harm caused by ghosts) and *Zhigui* 治鬼 (treatment of ghosts).

(5) Bāla-rakṣā, bāla-cikitsā or kaumāra-bhṛtya means to the protection of children and the treatment of diseases of children. It corresponds to *Zhixiao'er* 治小兒 (treatment of children), *Tongzi bing* 童子病 (diseases of children), *Haitong* 孩童 (children) and *Liao haitong* 療孩童 (treatment of children). According to the explanation given by I-tsing, childhood extends from the foetal stage until after a person's sixteenth year. It is therefore worth noting that the treatment of the foetus is in fact included under bāla-rakṣā (paediatrics) in both *Daban niepan jing shu* 大般涅槃經疏 [Commentary on *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*], volume six, and *Yiqiejing yinyi*, volume twenty-five. They are not recognized as two different sections of aṣṭāṅga.

(6) Agada, agada-tantra, agada-rakṣā or daṃṣṭrā cikitsā is the treatment of diseases due to poisons, i.e. toxicology. Agada is transliterated in Chinese as *Ejietuo* 惡揭陀, *Ajietuo* 阿伽陀, *Ajietuo* 阿竭陀 and *Ajietuo* 阿揭陀. It refers to all antidotes. Agada-tantra (toxicology) corresponds to the Chinese terms *Zhidu* 治毒 (treatment of poisons), *Ejietuoyao* 惡揭陀藥 (Agada drugs), *Edu* 惡毒 (evil poisons), *Zhongduyao* 中毒藥 (medicines for poisons).

(7) Vayo-rakṣā, rasāyana-tantra or jarā cikitsā deals with the treatment of diseases of old age, i.e. gerontology or geriatrics. It corresponds to *Changnian fang* 長年方 (elixirs for prolonging life), *Yannian* 延年 (prolonging life), *Yanshou* 延壽 (prolonging life). It refers to practices and regimens for achieving longevity.

(8) Bija means sperm and seed. Bija-vivardhana, vājīkaraṇa-tantra or vṛṣa cikitsā deals with the treatment of conditions such as impotence and sterility, and increasing virility by the use of aphrodisiacs. It corresponds to *Zushenli* 足身力 (invigorating the power of the body), *Zengqili* 增氣力 (increasing potency and strength), and *Yangshen* 養身 (nourishing the body). In fact, it mainly points to increasing sexual potency.

Thus *bashu* in fragment Dlx09888 basically corresponds to aṣṭāṅga- in Ayurveda.

The first section, the recipes for treating [diseases of] the head and eyes, and for introducing into the nose, corresponds to śālākya-tantra or urdhvāṅga cikitsā in Ayurveda. The second section, the five viscera and six *fu*-organs, internal disorders and feeling the pulse, corresponds to Kāya-cikitsā in Ayurveda. Although this passage in Ⅰx09888 mentions “feeling the pulse”, it must be pointed out that there are no records of pulse-taking in Ayurvedic texts until the thirteenth century CE. The first record appears in the *Śārṅgadharasamhitā*. The tradition of pulse-taking is also very different in India and China. The third section, removing demonic spirits or the *qi* of ghosts corresponds to bhūta-vidyā in Ayurveda. The fourth section, the treatment of sores, pyogenic infections of the skin, incised wounds and hemafecia, corresponds to śālya-tantra in Ayurveda. The fifth section, various prescriptions for antidotes to remove all poisons, and the making of elixirs of longevity corresponds to agada-tantra in Ayurveda. However, “the making of elixirs of longevity” can in fact correspond to vayo-rakṣā in Ayurveda. The sixth section, curing various diseases of children, corresponds to kumara-tantra in Ayurveda.

Although the order of the first six sections of *bashu* differs from *Suśruta-samhitā*, the content is fundamentally similar.

As noted above, *Bashu* is mentioned by Buddhist scholars in various Chinese texts and commentaries from the Jin (265-420) to the Tang (618-907) periods. According to *Jiutangshu* 舊唐書 [Old Tang History], the *Taiyishu* 太醫署 (Imperial Medical Office) was the national institution for medical administration and education. The director of *Taiyishu*, known as *Taiyiling* 太醫令 (Imperial Physician), was in charge of four categories of staff, namely physicians, acupuncturists, masseurs and magicians (*jinzhoushi* 禁呪師). Below the physicians, there were various medical doctors who were required to “master medical knowledge to teach students”. This knowledge comprehended:

Studying *Materia Medica* and *Pulse Classic A and B*; the medical courses are divided into five kinds, namely, the treatment of body (*Tiliao* 體療), the treatment of sores and swellings (*Chuangzhong* 瘡腫), the treatment of children (*Shaoxiao* 少小), the treatment of the ears, eye, mouth and teeth (*Ermukouchi* 耳目口齒), and methods using various horns (to remove poisons) (*Jiaofa* 角法).<sup>22</sup>

These five categories of medicine of the Tang period are called *Wuye* 五業 (five medical

<sup>22</sup> *Jiutangshu* 舊唐書, volume forty-four *Zhiguanzhi* 職官志, edition of Zhonghua shuju, pp. 1875-1876. The record in *Xintangshu* 新唐書, volume forty-eight *Baiguanzhi* 百官志 is identical to this. According to private correspondence with Dr. Lee Jender 李貞德, the method with horns of the Tang is related to the treatment of poisons. There is a method of Zhen Liyan 甄立言 using a bamboo horn to remove the poison of scorpion, which is recorded by Wang Tao 王濤 in his work *Waitai miyao* 外臺秘要 [Arcane Essential Prescriptions from the Imperial Library] volume forty. In some medical texts of the Song and Ming periods, there are other references to the methods with horns for removing poisons, which are sometime called the horn method with water (*shui jiaofa* 水角法) or with mercury (*shuiyin jiaofa* 水銀法).

methods) in *Xintangshu* 新唐書 [New Tang History]<sup>23</sup>. They correspond substantially to the eight branches of Ayurveda in India. *Tiliao*, *Chuangzhong*, *Shaoxiao*, *Ermukouci*, and *Jiaofa* correspond to *kāya-cikitsā*, *śalya-cikitsā*, *kūmara-tantra*, *śālākya-cikitsā* and *agada-tantra* in Ayurveda, respectively. The following note appears in *Tangliudian* 唐六典 [Six legal classics of the Tang Dynasty] volume fourteen:

As all physicians have researched different medical classics, teaching is carried out in different courses. Of twenty students in total, there are eleven studying the treatment of the body; three studying the treatment of sores and swellings; three studying the treatment of children; two studying the treatment of diseases of the ears, eyes, mouth and teeth; one studying the methods with various horns (to remove poisons). Those students who study the treatment of the body will graduate in seven years; those who study the treatment of children and of sores and swellings, in five years; those who study the treatment of diseases of the ears, eyes, mouth and teeth and the methods with various horns, in two years.

These then were the regulations governing the number of students studying *Wuye* 五業 and the duration of studying courses in the foremost medical institution of the Tang period. However, no such specific regulations are to be found in the Indian literature.<sup>24</sup> Although the sequence of *Wuye* 五業 in Tang China differs somewhat from the eight branches of Ayurveda in India, the terminology provides distinct evidence that some elements of Ayurveda had been absorbed into the system of Chinese medical knowledge by the Tang period.

## II: D<sub>x</sub>18173: Translation and Annotation

Fragment D<sub>x</sub>18173 in the Russian Collection is written on both sides, with seventeen lines on each side. Some lines are missing at the beginning, end and middle of this fragment. On the evidence of the longest line in the extant fragment, there were originally

<sup>23</sup> There was a similar system of medicine in ancient Japan. In *Zhengshi yaolue* 政事要略 [Seiji youryaku] volume ninety-five, the entry “Zhiyao zashi” 至要雜事 (Excellent sundries), about schools, records that the study of medical knowledge consisted of two phases. After two years, the courses are divided into four kinds, namely treatment of the body (internal medicine), treatment of wounds (surgery), treatment of children (paediatrics), and treatment of the ear, eye, mouth and teeth (five organs 五官科). See Wang Jinlin 王金林, *Hantang wenhua yu gudai riben wenhua* 漢唐文化與古代日本文化 [Culture from the Han to Tang Dynasties and the Ancient Culture of Japan], Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1996, p. 329.

<sup>24</sup> The Buddhist texts record that the duration of medical studies was seven years. For example, Jivaka learned from Ātreya for about seven years in *Sifenlu* 四分律 [Vinaya of the Four Categories of the Dharmagupta sect], trans. by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian) and *Foshuo nainu qipojing* 佛說奈女耆婆經. In ancient India, students who studied medicine for a full seven years would receive commendation, while students who studied the treatment of the body in China would complete their course in seven years. This correspondence in the duration of study may hint at an internal relation between Ayurveda and Chinese medicine.

about sixteen words to each line. It is reproduced in *Dunhuang manuscripts collected in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia*, volume 17.<sup>25</sup>

A literal translation runs as follows:

1. ...Question: What are the three [bodily] humours and seven kinds of basic tissues of the body? [Answer]: The three [bodily] humours are wind, bile and phlegm.
  2. The seven basic tissues of the body consist of (the following), viz., the first, chyle or plasma; the second, blood; the third, flesh; the fourth, fat; the fifth, bone; the sixth, bone marrow and the seventh, brain.
  3. [Question]: When one eats rice (i.e. solid food), once it has entered the stomach via the mouth, how does digestion proceed separately in the receptacle for undigested food and the receptacle for digested food?
  4. [Answer]: As regards the receptacle for digested food, the upper warmer (*shangjiao* 上焦) produces tears, saliva and nasal mucus; while the lower warmer (*xiajiao* 下焦) produces faeces and urine. As regards the receptacle for undigested food,
  5. ...the best chyle of rice enters the marrow,
  6. ...into the marrow, a number of...
  7. ...the cause of the Four Great Elements in the body,
  8. ...Five kinds of [?] are needed inside the Four Great Elements [of the human body] (viz. earth, water, fire and wind).
- (The mid section is missing)
9. There are many diseases resulting from morbid conditions of wind, bile and phlegm respectively and of all three humours. Question...
  10. ...Answer: During the periods of Yin (3-5 a.m.), Mao (5-7 a.m.), and Chen (7-9 a.m.), diseases due to wind [are predominant],
  11. ...[During the periods of Xin (15-17 p.m.), You (17-19 p.m.), and Xu (19-21 p.m.), diseases due to phlegm [are predominant],
  12. ...[Question]: When diseases arise from morbid conditions of [wind], bile and phlegm respectively, [which treatments should be carried out for each one]? [Answer: If there is a disease due to wind],
  13. introducing oily substances [into a patient] should treat it. If there is a disease due to bile,
  14. drinking a decoction of medicinal ingredients [by the patient] should treat it. If there is a disease due to phlegm, treatments inducing vomiting [in the patient] should treat it.
  15. [Question]: What are the signs of a person who is ill, or who is healthy? Answer: If wind, bile, phlegm and the seven kinds of basic tissues are...
  16. ...upper and lower parts. The skin of his (or her) body is glowing and dewy; and the state of the Four Great Elements of the body is relaxed and comfortable.

<sup>25</sup> *E zang Dunhuang wenxian* 醫藏敦煌文獻 [Dunhuang manuscripts collected in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia], volume 17, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001, p. 176.

When he or she breathes out once, the pulse moves again;

17. when he or she breathes in once, the pulse moves again. During the interval between one exhalation and inhalation, the pulse beats five times (the pulse rhythm is repeated five times). At that moment, the common pulse...

(The subsequent lines are missing)

Дх18173 (2-2)

1. ...[Question]: Where are wind, bile and phlegm each located inside the human body? [Answer]: The wind dwells
2. ...[in the area of] the opening of the intestines. Extending upwards to the ear and downward as far as the leg and foot, this is called the way of wind. The bile dwells inside the receptacle of undigested food.
3. ...The phlegm dwells inside the receptacle of digested food, extending upwards to the chest, throat and as far as the top of the head, and inside all the bones and joints.
4. ...to nourish the person's life. If there are humours in excess of the (normal) wind, bile and phlegm, it will certainly cause damage to these four great elements in the physical body
5. ...Question: What is meant by wind, bile and phlegm...?
6. ...which..., bile is in the middle of...
7. ... in the part of face to know...
8. ...If bile is more predominant [than wind and phlegm] in the body, the patient should take [some medicines]...

(The middle part is missing)

9. ...arise from the chest to the throat...
10. ...[it] takes action from navel to throat, [and causes to]...
11. ...[it] takes action inside the pulse [channels], [and causes to ]...
12. ...[it] takes action inside the bones and joints, [and causes to]...
13. ...[it] takes action inside the intestines, and causes faeces and urine to be produced. [Question:]
14. When these four great elements take hold of bile, in what state or condition is it? Answer: This bile tastes like mango (*Mangitera Indica*),
15. pomegranate seed and vinegar. Under these circumstances, body heat begins to increase. If such phlegm takes action, it causes cooked rice to be digested,
16. ... beautify the complexion. Question: When these four great elements take hold of phlegm, in what state or condition is it?
17. [Answer]: The taste of this phlegm is salty, like fat. If such phlegm takes action, it causes the body to be sturdy and strong. ...

(The subsequent lines are missing)

This fragment is mainly concerned with the doctrines of tri-doṣa and sapta-dhātu in

Ayurveda. Below, I offer a commentary on the key terms in this fragment.

*Sanju* 三俱 (=Skt. tri-doṣa): i.e. the three (bodily) humours, namely wind (vāyu, vāta), bile (pitta) and phlegm (śleṣma, kapha). These three humours circulate in the human body. Without them, existence is impossible.

In the third folio of *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, *Jinyao fangfa* 進藥方法 [Rules on administering medicines], I-tsing states:

Every living creature is subject either to the peaceful working or failure of the Four Great Elements (i.e. Mahābhūta). The eight seasons coming one after another, the development and change of the bodily condition are ceaseless. Whenever a disease has befallen one, rest and care must at once be taken. Therefore the World-honoured (i.e. Lokageṣṭa = the Buddha) himself preached a Sūtra on the Art of Medicine, in which he said: 'Failure of health (lit. moderation) of the Four Great Elements is as follows:

1. The Chū-lu, i.e. making the body slothful and heavy, owing to an increase of the element earth.
2. The Hsieh-po, i.e. having very much eye-mucus or mouth-water, owing to an accumulation of the element water.
3. The Pi-to, i.e. having head and chest very feverish, owing to the overpowering heat caused by the element fire.
4. The P'o-to, i.e. violent rush of breath, owing to the moving influence of the element air.

These are what we call in China, (1) the sinking heaviness, (2) the phlegmatic disease, (3) the yellow fever, (4) the rising breath or air (dizziness, asthma, or cold). But if we discuss sickness according to the common custom, there are only three kinds (instead of four), i.e. disease caused by the air (vāta), fever (pitta), and phlegmatic disease (kapha), and the 'sinking heaviness' (1) is similar to the 'phlegmatic' in its condition, and accordingly the disease of the element earth is not distinguished from that of the element water.<sup>26</sup>

The Chinese transliterations of tridoṣa are Hsieh-po/*xiebo* 變跛 (kapha), Pi-to/*biduo* 畢哆 (pitta), and P'o-to/*poduo* 婆哆 (vāta) respectively. According to the Ayurveda, the doṣās are material substances present in the body, and they have their own definite quantity, quality and functions. When they are normal they control different functions of the body and so support or maintain it. But they have the tendency to become abnormal, undergoing increase or decrease in their quantity, and in one or more of their qualities and functions. When they become abnormal,<sup>27</sup> they vitiate their places of dwelling; and because of this

<sup>26</sup> Wang Bangwei, *op.cit.*, 1995, p. 157. Takakusu Junjirō (tran.), *op.cit.*, pp. 131-132.

<sup>27</sup> Vasubandhu in *Apidamo jusbe shilun* 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論 [*Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*], translated by Paramārtha in 563-567 C.E., says: "The abnormal situation refers to one in which wind, bile and phlegm act against each other, and cause disharmony among the Four Great Elements" (T. 29, p. 239a). Also see G. J. Meulenbeld, "The Characteristics of a Dosa", *J.E.ĀS*, vol. 2, 1992, pp. 1-5. H. Scharfe, "The Doctrine of

tendency of vitiation, they are called doṣās, i.e. vitiators. In Buddhist texts, the tri-doṣa are sometimes called *Sandu* 三毒 (three poisons) or *Sanbingxiang* 三病相 (three symptoms of diseases).<sup>28</sup> There are altogether seven kinds of disease caused by abnormal doṣās, namely those due to wind, phlegm and bile respectively; three kinds due to dual combinations of humour; and one kind due to a combination of all three humours. In Buddhist texts, these are usually termed wind disease, heat disease, water disease and combination disease.

In Chinese versions of Buddhist texts, two further translations of the term tri-doṣa are found, namely *Sanyin* 三因 (the three causes)<sup>29</sup> and *Sanfen* 三分 (the three divisions). For example, in *Suixianglun* 隨相論 [*Lakṣaṇānusāraśāstra*] translated by Paramārtha 真諦 (499-569 CE), Guṇamati 德慧 says:

These are three divisions in the human body. The part from the heart upward is the location of phlegm (kapha). The part from the heart down to navel is the location of heat (pitta). The part from navel down to the feet is the location of wind (vāta). If these three divisions are unobstructed, the human body is healthy. If they are obstructed, one becomes ill.<sup>30</sup>

These three divisions are phlegm, bile and wind.

*Feng* 風 (wind, air. Vāyu or vāta in Sanskrit). Saṅgharakṣa's 僧伽羅刹 *Xiuxing daodijing* 修行道地經 [*Yogacārabhūmi(-sūtra)*], translated by Dharmarakṣa in the fifth year of the Taikang Period 泰康 (284 CE) of the Western Jin Period, volume four, states as follows:

What is meant by air? The air is divided into two kinds, inner and outer. What is meant by inner air? The air which the human body receives from above and below and from outside; which arises across the sides, back and waist and passes

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the 'Three Humours in Traditional Indian Medicine and the Alleged Antiquity of Tamil Siddha Medicine'. *J.AOS*, 199:4, 1999, pp. 609-630.

<sup>28</sup> The "southern text" of the version of *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, volume twenty-three, says: "To understand disease and medicine, and give (the patient) some drugs which accord with the disease. Thus, a good physician who is fully versed in the eight kinds of medical method first observes the symptoms of disease. There are three kinds of symptoms. What are the three kinds? They are called diseases due to wind, heat and water. A patient who is ill due to excess of wind should take ghee. A patient who is ill due to excess of heat (bile) should take sugar. A patient who is ill due to excess of water (phlegm) should take a decoction of ginger" (T. 12, p. 755b).

<sup>29</sup> The *Xianbu zhangzhe hui* 賢護長者會 [*Bhadrāpalāśreṣṭhiparipṛcchā(sūtra)*] translated by Jñānagupta (523-600 CE) in *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 [*Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra*], volume 110, says: "Desire, anger and ignorance are known as the causes of the three realms of saṃsāra. As well as these, wind, bile and phlegm are also known as the three causes" (T. 11, p. 617a). This sentence is translated in the same way in *Dacheng xianshi jing* 大乘顯識經 [*Bhadrāpalāśreṣṭhiparipṛcchā(sūtra)*], translated by Divakara 地婆訶羅 in the Tang period, volume II (T. 12, p. 186a).

<sup>30</sup> T. 32, p. 166a.

through hundreds of channels and inside the bones; which impedes and reduces the power of the sinews; which being urgent and cruel in its rise and movement causes death — all these are known as inner air. Thus, this śloka says: All the airs which are carried by the body are like machinery; various airs moving together can bring about the death of the body; gasping for breath, agitated movement, impeding and contracting the body; all these are known as inner air.<sup>31</sup>

In fact, the five changes of inner wind denote the five kinds of air present in the human body, namely *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *udāna* and *vyāna*. In *Jinqishilun* 金七十論, translated by Paramārtha, the function of these is explained in detail.<sup>32</sup> The ebb and flow of the five winds brings about processes in the human body.

**Huang** 黃 (bile, = Skt. *pitta*). This word is generally translated as heat, fever or yellow fever. In fact, it refers to bile. There are five kinds of bile in the human body, namely *pācaka*, *rañjaka*, *sādhaka*, *ālocaka* and *bhrājaka*.

**Tan** 痰 (phlegm, = Skt. *śleṣma* or *kapha*). This is usually translated as *tanyin* 痰瘰, *tanyin* 痰飲, *tan* 痰, and *dan* 淡, and so forth.<sup>33</sup> Sometimes it is called water. In Huilin's *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義, volume twenty-nine, it is explained as follows:

*Tanyin* 痰瘰: The first syllable is pronounced *tan* 談; the second is pronounced *Yin-jin fan* 陰禁反. Comment: The description of *Tanyin* 痰瘰 is not fixed. It refers to disease due to air between the chest and diaphragm. Because air coagulates and does not disperse, the bodily fluid is embroiled and not broken as muscular mucus. It is called phlegm. Of the four root cause of illness, phlegm can cause one hundred diseases which all belong to the diseases of the upper [section of the triple] burner.<sup>34</sup>

These are five kinds of phlegm in the human body, known as *kledaka*, *avalambaka*, *vodhaka*, *tarpaka* and *śleṣamaka*.

**Qijie** 七界 (= Skt. *sapta-dhātu*). This refers to the seven kinds of basic tissues in the human body. I-tsing's translation of *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamarājasūtra*, volume nine, "Chapter on healing illness" [*vyādhi-praśamana-parivarta*] states:

<sup>31</sup> T. 15, p. 207b.

<sup>32</sup> *Jin qishi lun* 金七十論 [*Sāṅkhyakārikā*] volume II, the twenty-ninth śloka says: "All the sense organs act together, including the five winds such as *prāṇa* wind and so forth."

<sup>33</sup> In *Dabaoji jing* 大寶積經, volume forty-two *Da pushazang jing* 大菩薩藏經 [*Bodhisattvapitaka-(sūtra)*], translated by Xuanzang, says: "There are many and various afflictions — diseases, insanity, abscesses, furuncles, carbuncle, ringworm, malignant leprosy, wind diseases, and diseases due to bile and phlegm. All the diseases congregate in the human body" (T. 11, p. 243a-b).

<sup>34</sup> T. 54, p. 502c.



One (i.e. a physician) must be familiar with the seven kinds of basic tissues in the human body, food and medicine, so as to obviate mistakes. They (sapta-dhātu) are known as chyle, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow and brain.<sup>35</sup>

In classic Ayurvedic texts, sapta-dhātu usually includes chyle (= Skt. rasa), blood (= Skt. rakta, asṛṅk), flesh (= Skt. māṃsa), fat (= Skt. medas), bone (= Skt. asthi), bone marrow (= Skt. majjā) and semen (= Skt. śukra). But in Chinese Buddhist texts, like the last dhātu, śukra is usually translated as brain, not semen. In D18173, the Chinese terms for sapta-dhātu are the same as in I-tsing's version. Why is śukra translated as brain? There are probably two reasons for this. First, a relationship exists between brain and semen in Chinese medicine and Daoism, as can be seen for example in the technique termed *Huanjing bunao* 還精補腦 (making the seminal essence return and restore to the brain)<sup>36</sup>. The second reason may be that Chinese Buddhist translators were reluctant to use words pertaining to sex in sūtra or abhidharma texts, finding them acceptable only in vinaya texts.

**Wei 味** (chyle, = Skt. rasa). This refers to the chyle of sapta-dhātu. Huizhao's *Jingguangming zhuishengwang jingshu* 金光明最勝王經疏 [Commentary on *Suvarṇaprabhāṣottamarājasūtra*], volume six, states:

The first, rasa dhātu, *aluopo* 阿羅婆 (alpa?) in Sanskrit, is located between the spleen and the stomach. Here food is divided into two parts. One is the *Quluo-dhātu* 佉羅界 (= Skt. kṣīra), where residue becomes faeces and urine. The other is rasa-dhātu, namely the fluid from the taste of food that can nourish the body.<sup>37</sup>

Another meaning of rasa is taste. In Ayurvedic texts, the tastes of drugs or foods are usually divided into six kinds: sweet (madhura), sour (amla), saline (lavaṇa), pungent (kaṭuka), bitter (tikta) and astringent (kaṣāya)<sup>38</sup>. Ravigupta in *Siddhasāra* describes the functions of the six tastes as follows:

<sup>35</sup> T. 16, p. 448a. Huizhao in *Jingguangming zhuisheng wang jing* 金光明最勝王經疏 [Commentary on *Suvarṇaprabhāṣottamarājasūtra*], volume six, lists the same seven elements as in I-tsing's version (T.39, p.325c). But the *vyādhipraśamana-parivarta* in the Sanskrit text of *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra* only has six elements (ṣaḍ-dhātu), though there are more usually seven elements (sapta-dhātu). See S. Bagchi ed. *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*, Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1967, p. 95.

<sup>36</sup> Yan Shanzhao 嚴善超, 還精補腦術の形成と展開 [A Study of the Art of Making the Seminal Essence Return and Restore to the Brain], *The Tōhō Shūkyō 東方宗教* [The Journal of Eastern Religions], vol. 103, 2004, pp. 41-60. In Greek medicine, there is a similar view of the relationship between the brain and semen.

<sup>37</sup> T. 39, p. 325b.

<sup>38</sup> D. Wujastyk, "The combinatorics of tastes and humours in classical Indian medicine and mathematics", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 28 (5-6), 2000, pp. 479-495.

Si.1.24: (1) As for the sweet taste (*madhuro raso*), it is good for the eye (*cakṣuṣyo*) and makes the body elements (*dhātu-*) increase (*-vivardhanaḥ*). (2) As for the sour (*amlo*) (taste), it causes faecal discharge to be washed out (*anulomano*), is good for the heart (*hr̥dyah*), causes food to be digested (*kledī*) and matured (*pācana-*), and promotes the heat (*-dīpanaḥ*) (of the digestive fire). (3) As for the saline (*lavaṇaḥ*) (taste), it causes cleansing (*śodhanaḥ*) and maturing (*pācanaḥ*), causes digestion (*kledī*) (of food) and loosening of the flesh (*śithilatva-*). (4) The pungent (*kaṭur*) (taste) removes (*-ghnaś*) (the condition of having) much flesh (*sthaulya-*), laziness (*ālasya-*), and poisons (*viṣa-*), promotes the heart (*dīpana-*), and poisons (*viṣa-*), promotes the heart (*dīpana-*) (of the digestive fire), and causes maturing (*-pācanaḥ*). (5) As for the bitter (*tiktaḥ-*) (taste), it removes (*-ghnas*) fever (*jvara-*) and the disease of thirst (*tr̥ṣṇā-*), promotes the heat (*dīpano*) (of the digestive fire), causes cleansing (*śodhana*), and causes the appetite to expand (*-rocanaḥ*). (6) As for the astringent (*kaṣāyo*) (taste), it causes the flesh to ache (*piḍano*), causes the flesh to be diminished (*lekhana-*), causes dry excrement (*-stambhī*), terminates cleansing (*grāhi-*), and causes wounds to be healed (*-ropaṇaḥ*).

Si.1.27: As for tastes (*rasānāṃ*), after digestion (*pāko*), they develop in two ways (*dvi-vidhaḥ*), sweet (*madhuraḥ*) and pungent (*kaṭur eva ca*). Among those two (*tayor*), as for the former (*ādhyas*), it is heavy (*gurur*); as for the latter (*itarasya*), it is light (*laghutvam*).<sup>39</sup>

It is worth pointing out that *rasa* is very important in the history of Indian culture. The doctrine of *Rasa* is a representative school of Indian poetics.<sup>40</sup>

*Shengzang* 生藏 (stomach, = Skt. *āmāśaya*) and *Shuzang* 熟藏 (= Skt. *pakvāśaya*). They respectively refer to two situations and locations for the digestion of food is digested. *Xiuxing daodi jing* 修行道地經 [*Yogacārabhāṃsi(sūtra)*], volume three, says:

After food enters *Shengzang* 生藏 (the stomach, *āmāśaya*), it is cooked by the fire of body, and decomposed by the water of body. The wind blows it about, till it is gradually digested. Then it drops into the intestines. The hard part of it then becomes faeces and the moist part becomes urine, while the froth becomes nasal mucus and saliva. The excellent tastes inside the receptacles can bring benefit to the body. These tastes then flow into and circulate through all the channelss. Afterwards, they nourish the hair, nails, teeth, marrow, blood, flesh, fat, semen, *jingqi* 精氣 (essential *qi*), brain and so forth. It is the Four Great Elements outside the human body that nourish the five faculties (roots) inside the body, and enable all the roots to obtain power.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> p. 19, p. 21.

<sup>40</sup> Huang Baosheng 黃寶生, *Yindu gudian shixue* 印度古典詩學 [Classical poetics in India], Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1993.

<sup>41</sup> T. 15, p. 199a.

*Apidamo jushe shilun* 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論 [Abhidharma Storehouse Treatise] translated by Paramārtha, says in the eighth folio: “As to food and drink, none of this food and drink will enter the receptacles before digestion. My guru spoke thus.”<sup>42</sup> *Sifenlu xingshichao zichiji* 四分律行事鈔資持記, written by Yuanzhao 元照 in the Northern Song (960-1127), volume II, *Shi zhanbing pian* 釋瞻病篇 [Explanation of the chapter on taking care of the patient] further states:

As soon as food enters the stomach, it becomes acid and evil-smelling. Afterward it descends into the receptacles and become faeces and urine... The upper part of the receptacle where food has not yet been transformed is known as *Shengzang* 生藏; while the lower part where food becomes faeces and urine is called *Shuzang* 熟藏.<sup>43</sup>

**Shangjiao** 上焦 (the upper energizer, [section of the triple] burner) and **Xiajiao** 下焦 (the lower energizer, [section of the triple] burner) are terms from traditional Chinese medicine. Master Taitai Zhiyi 天臺智顗 in volume eight of the Sui text *Shi chanboluomi cidi famen* 釋禪波羅蜜次第法門 explains them as follows:

The upper energizer is in charge of the clear and warm air (*qi*) of bodily fluids; the middle energizer is in charge of the air of blood, pulse and spirit; while the lower energizer is in charge of the excretory system for faeces and urine. The triple burner keeps the passage between the upper and lower body unblocked.<sup>44</sup>

Master Zhili 知禮, in volume six of the Song (960-1279) text *Jingguangmingjing wenju ji* 金光明經文句記 [Record of Explanatory Passages of *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra*], citing *Huangdi maijing* 黃帝脈經 [Pulse classic of the Yellow Emperor] states: “The upper energizer refers to the part from the head to the heart; the middle energizer, from the heart to the navel; the lower energizer, from the navel to the foot.”<sup>45</sup> In *Shi zhanbing pian* 釋瞻病篇 [Explanation of the chapter on taking care of the patient] in *Sifenglu xingshichao zichiji* 四分律行事鈔資持記, Yuanzhao explains: “From the top of the head to heart is called the upper energizer; from the heart to the waist, the middle energizer; from the waist to the feet, the lower-energizer. The three sections of the triple burner together constitute one of the (six-) *fu* organs.”<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> T. 29, p. 214a.

<sup>43</sup> T. 40, p. 389b-c.

<sup>44</sup> T. 46, p. 532b.

<sup>45</sup> T. 39, p. 151b.

<sup>46</sup> T. 40, p. 410c. Ma Boying also has discussed the question of the origins of the triple burner. See Ma Boying 馬伯英 et. al. *Zhongwai yixue wenhua jiaoliu shi: zhongwai yixue kua wenhua chuantong* 中外醫學文化交流史 — 中外醫學跨文化傳通 [The history of exchange of medical culture between China and foreign countries], Wenhui chubanshe, 1993, p. 125.

**Sida 四大:** This usually refers to the Four Great Elements of the human body, namely earth, fire, water and wind.

**Zongjibing 惣集病** (= Skt. *saṃnipātika*, *saṃnipāta-vyādhi*). Those diseases attributed to a combination of three humours are known as **Zongjibing**. This term occurs three times in the ninth folio of I-tsing's translation of *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*<sup>47</sup>. The fifty-seventh folio of *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 [*Mahāvratnakūṭa-sūtra*], *Foshuo rutaizang bui dishisi* 佛說入胎藏會第十四 [*Anandagarbhāvakraṇṭinīrdeśa(-sūtra)*] also translated by I-tsing, says:

What suffering the human body is subject to! There are 101 kinds of wind disease, 101 kinds of yellow diseases (due to bile), 101 kinds of diseases due to phlegm, 101 kinds of diseases caused by a combination of tri-doṣa (**Zongjibing** 惣集病). In total, there are 404 kinds of diseases which arise from within the human body.<sup>48</sup>

I-tsing usually chose to translate *saṃnipātika* or *saṃnipāta-vyādhi* as **Zongjibing** 惣集病. Various other renditions of *saṃnipāta-vyādhi* occur in other Buddhist sūtras, for example, (1) *Dengfen bing* 等分病. *Jingguangming jing* 金光明經 [*Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*], translated by Dharmakṣetra 曇無讖 in the Northern Liang period, volume three, says:

Illnesses due to excess of wind occur in the summer; Disturbances of the bile occur in autumn. Likewise, illnesses due to a combination of factors (*Dengfeng bing* 等分病) arise in winter. Illnesses due to excess of phlegm arise in the hot season. In the rainy season, the (appropriate) tastes are fatty, warm, salty, and sour; in the autumn season, fatty, sweet, and cold; in winter-time, sweet, sour, and fatty; and in summer-time, rough, warm, and bitter.<sup>49</sup>

(2) *Sanzabing* 三雜病. *Dabanruo boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 [*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*] translated by Xuanzang, volume 511, notes: "Many illnesses can be added which

<sup>47</sup> "There are four kinds of diseases affecting human beings, namely those of wind, bile, phlegm and **Zongjibing** 惣集病. How to cure them?" "Diseases are divided into four kinds, and called the diseases of wind, bile and phlegm, and **Zongjibing** 惣集病." "Those diseases caused by wind, bile and phlegm in concert, are called **Zongjibing** 惣集病 (T. 16, p. 448b).

<sup>48</sup> *Genben shuoyiqie youbu pinaiye zashu* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 [*Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*] translated by I-tsing, volume twelve, "There are 101 kinds of wind diseases, 101 kinds of ailments due to bile, 101 kinds of ailments due to phlegm, 101 kinds of ailments of a combination. There are 404 kinds of ailments which arise from the interior of the human body" (T. 24, p. 257b). *Foshuo dakongque zhouwang jing* 佛說大孔雀呪王經 [*Mahāmāyāri(vidyārājī)-sūtra*] also translated by I-tsing, volume II, "The diseases due to wind, bile, phlegm and a combination" (T. 19, p. 468a)

<sup>49</sup> T. 16, p. 352a. (Translation by R. E. Emmerick, *The Sūtra of golden light: being a translation of the Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1990, pp. 75-76).

are considered due to wind, bile, phlegm or a combination of factors.”<sup>50</sup> (3) *Sanjibing* 三集病. In *Foshuo dakongque zhouwang jing* 佛說大孔雀呪王經 [*Mahāmāyūri(-vidyārājñī)-(sūtra)*], volume I, I-tsing writes: “... for all fear and dread, and diseases due to wind, bile, phlegm, or a combination, or the 404 kinds of diseases. If these diseases arise in succession, one should recite these spells.”<sup>51</sup> (4) *Zhongji sanbing* 總集三病. *Genben shuoyiqie youbu baiyi jiemo* 根本說一切有部百一羯磨 [*Mālasarvāstivāda ekaśatakarmaṇ*] translated by I-tsing, volume one, refers to “dysphoria and pain in the bones or joints, and all malarial diseases due to wind, bile, phlegm and a combination of factors.”<sup>52</sup>

**Biantu** 變吐 (= Skt. *vāntāsana, praśama*). This refers to vomiting. The word **bian** 變 (**change**) can also be used in the sense of “vomit”, as a synonym of *tu* 吐 (vomit).<sup>53</sup> I-tsing’s translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāṣottamarājasūtra*, volume nine, says: “A patient suffering from wind disease should take oily and fatty substances. Purging is good for diseases due to bile. For diseases due to phlegm, vomiting should be induced. In the case of diseases due to a combination of factors, drugs endowed with all three attributes should be taken.”<sup>54</sup>

I-tsing’s *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, volume three, also states: “If one feels that there is food remaining in the stomach, one should press or stroke the belly at the navel, drink as much hot water as one can, and insert a finger into the throat to induce vomiting. One should continue drinking and vomiting till all remnants of food are gone.”<sup>55</sup>

*Fenbie yuanqi chusheng famen jing* 分別緣起初勝法門經 translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600-664CE), volume II, says: “Why is it called **Biantu** 變吐 (vomiting)? The World-honored One said: The reason is that all religious practices and afflictions have been eliminated.”<sup>56</sup>

**Feng dao** 風道路 (the way of wind, = Skt. *vāyu-gocara* or *vāyu-mārga*). This term should be *Fengdao* 風道, i.e. the word “*Lu* 路” is superfluous. According to the Sātra-sthāna of *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, the five winds (*prāṇa, apāna, samāna, udāna* and *vyāna*) are located in different places in the human body and cause the body to move in different ways.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>50</sup> T. 7, p. 611b.

<sup>51</sup> T. 19, p. 461c.

<sup>52</sup> T. 24, p. 457b.

<sup>53</sup> I would thank Dr. Tang Dailong for this view.

<sup>54</sup> T. 16, p. 448b.

<sup>55</sup> Wang Bangwei, *op.cit.*, p. 157. See Takakusu Junjirō (tran.), *op.cit.*, p. 132.

<sup>56</sup> T. 16, p. 843a.

<sup>57</sup> Kenneth G. Zysk, “Vital Breath *Prāṇa* in Ancient Indian Medicine and Religion”. In Yosio Kawakita, Shizu Sakai, and Yasuo Otsuka (eds.), *The Comparison Between Concepts of Life-breath in East and West: Proceedings of the 15<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on the Comparative History of Medicine. East and West*, 1995, pp. 33-65. Tokyo, Bretwood (St. Louis): Ishiyaku EuroAmerica, Inc.

*Anmo* 奄磨 (= Skt. āmra). This is mango (*Mangitera Indica*). Various different transliterations of āmra are found in Chinese versions of Buddhist texts, including *Anmeiluo* 奄沒羅, *Anluo* 菴羅, *Anmoluo* 菴摩羅, *Anmoluo* 菴末羅, *Anpoluo* 菴婆羅, *Amoluo* 阿末羅, *Amole* 阿摩勒 and so forth. Several explanations of this word are provided in *Yiqie jing yinyi*. Volume five states: “*Anmeiluo* fruit 奄沒羅果 Sanskrit. This is the name of a fruit. It is called *Anpoluo*. In China, it refers to the fruit of *Anluo*.”<sup>58</sup> Volume eleven states:

*Anmoluo shu* 菴摩羅樹: Sanskrit. This is the name of a kind of fruit tree. This tree is not found in China. It used to be translated as *Anpoluo* 菴婆羅, or the *Anluo* tree 菴羅樹. They are both the same. The *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* says: “It changes three times a year like āmra. Sometimes, it produces flowers, which are brilliant and flourishing; sometimes, it produces leaves, which grow well and luxuriantly; sometimes, it sheds its leaves and looks like a withered tree. It is said that its flowers are many but the fruits are few”.<sup>59</sup>

Volume twenty-five states: “*Anluo* fruit 菴羅果: There is no correct translation for this word in Chinese. In appearance it resembles a pawpaw. The taste is fragrant and sweet. According to the Buddhist sūtras, it is difficult to tell the difference between an unripe mango and a ripe one.”<sup>60</sup> Volume twenty-eight states:

*Anluo* 菴羅, also known as *Anpoluo* 菴婆羅 the name of a fruit. Comment: It has many flowers, but few fruits. The shape of the leaf is similar to the willow leaf. It is over one *chi* in long, and about three fingers in breadth. The shape of the fruit is similar to a pear, but it is crooked at the bottom. In India, it is called the tree of kings. It is said that it was planted in the city of the king. In Buddhist sūtras, it is referred to as the fruit of which it is hard to tell whether it is ripe or unripe. The old translation *Nai* 柰 of this word is wrong. The correct translation is *Anmeiluo* 奄沒羅.<sup>61</sup>

Volume fifty-one states:

*Anluo guo* 菴羅果: The pronunciation of the first syllable is *An-han-fan* 暗含反. Comment: *Anluo* 菴羅 is the name of an Indian fruit. This fruit, which is shaped like a pear, is also found in China but it is smaller than the Indian variety. This translation is based on the pronunciation of the Sanskrit word, and not on its

<sup>58</sup> T. 54, p. 339b.

<sup>59</sup> T. 54, p. 371b.

<sup>60</sup> T. 54, p. 471b.

<sup>61</sup> T. 54, p. 496b.

meaning.<sup>62</sup>

The taste of āmra referred to in ㄟx18173 is sweet and sour. It is basically the same as the taste of bile as discussed by Ravigupta in *Siddhasāra*.

ㄟx18173 deals with five aspects of the doctrine of tridoṣa in Ayurveda. First, it explains the subject matter of tri-doṣa and sapta-dhātu. Apart from this fragment, there are no references to *Sanju* in the Chinese medical literature. The terms for sapta-dhātu in ㄟx18173 differ from classical Ayurveda, but are identical to those used in I-tsing's translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaottamarājasūtra*.

The second aspect is the correspondence method of treating illnesses due to tri-doṣa. ㄟx18173 states:

[If there is a disease due to wind], introducing oily substances [into a patient] should treat it. If there is a disease due to bile, drinking a decoction of medicinal ingredients [by the patient] should treat it. If there is a disease due to phlegm, treatments inducing vomiting [in the patient] should treat it.

I-tsing's translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaottamarājasūtra*, volume nine, likewise says:

A patient suffering from wind disease should take oily and fatty substances. Purging is good for diseases due to bile. For diseases due to phlegm, vomiting should be induced. In the case of diseases due to a combination of factors, drugs endowed with all three attributes should be taken.<sup>63</sup>

The treatment of diseases due to phlegm is the same in ㄟx18173 and *Suvarṇaprabhāsaottamarājasūtra*.

The third aspect is the relationship between time and changes of tri-doṣa in the course of the day and night. ㄟx18173 states:

During the periods of Yin (3-5 a.m.), Mao (5-7 a.m.), and Chen (7-9 a.m.), diseases due to wind [are predominant]; ... [During the periods of Xin (15-17 p.m.), You (17-19 p.m.), and Xu (19-21 p.m.), diseases due to phlegm [are predominant].<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> T. 54, p. 647c.

<sup>63</sup> T. 16, p. 448b.

<sup>64</sup> *Jin-gang-jing cuanyao kanding ji* 金剛經纂要判定記 recorded by Master Zhixuan in the Song Dynasty, volume three, says "It is said that one day and night is divided into twelve hours or four divisions. The first is the initial division, namely Yin, Mao and Chen when all gods and deities eat food. The second is the middle division, namely Shi, Wu and Wei when people eat food. The third is the daybreak division, namely Xin, You and Xu when ghosts eat food. The fourth is the night division, namely Iai, Zi and Chou when beasts eat food. Now the so-called Chen, is the last period of the initial division. The two translations from the Tang and Wuzhou periods all call it the initial division at sunrise" (T. 33, p.

With regard to the relationship between time of digestion and changes of the tri-doṣas, Ravigupta states as follows in *Siddhasāra*:

Si.1.6-8: As for wind disease (vāyoh), it rises (visarpaṇam) at the time of evening (śāyāhna-kāle) and at the end of digesting food (jīrṇānte). As for disease of the bile (pittasya), it rises (lakṣayet) at midday and at midnight (ahar-niśasyārdhe), and at the time of digesting food (jīryamāṇe ca). As for (disease of the) phlegm (śleṣmaṇo), it rises (bhavet) as soon as food has been eaten (bhukta-mātre), in the evening (pradoṣe) and in the morning (pārvāhṇe). (p.17)

*Suvarṇaprabbāsottamarājasūtra* also insists on an idea similar to that expressed in *Siddhasāra*:

Diseases due to phlegm arise as soon as one has eaten. Diseases due to heat (bile) arise during digestion. Diseases due to wind arise as soon as food has been digested. One should identify these diseases according to the time.<sup>65</sup>

Although the account of times of illnesses in ㄈx18173 is simpler than that found in *Siddhasāra*, the latter allows a missing sentence to be restored in ㄈx18173, namely “During the periods of Shi (21-23 p.m.), Wu (23 p.m.-1a.m.), and Wei (1a.m-3a.m.), diseases due to bile are predominant.”

The fourth aspect is the location of tri-doṣa in human body. ㄈx18173 asserts:

The wind dwells [in the area of] the opening of the intestines. Extending upwards to the ear and downward as far as the leg and foot, this is called the way of wind. The bile dwells inside the receptacle of undigested food. ...The phlegm dwells inside the receptacle of digested food, extending upwards to the chest, throat and as far as the top of the head, and inside all the bones and joints. ...to nourish the person's life.

As regard the location of tri-doṣa, *Jinqishi lun* states: “It is said in the śāstra on medical treatment that, from the navel downward is known as the location of wind. From the heart down to the navel is called as the location of heat (bile). The part from the heart upward all belongs to phlegm.”<sup>66</sup>

189b).

<sup>65</sup> T. 16, p. 448a. “Excess of phlegm erupts as soon as one has eaten. Excess of bile erupts during digestion. Excess of wind erupts as soon as one has digested. ... One must know in which period excess of wind, bile or a combination, excess of phlegm (occur)” (Translation of R. E. Emmerick, *The Sūtra of golden light: being a translation of the Suvarṇabbāsottamasūtra*, p. 76).

<sup>66</sup> T. 54, p. 1245a. Jizang 吉藏 in *Bailunshu* 百論疏 [Commentary on *Śataka-śāstra*], volume one, points out: “The first is called inner suffering due to wind, bile and phlegm and so forth. The part from the navel downward is the location of wind; from the navel up to the heart, the location of bile; from the heart upward, the location of phlegm. The eightfold medicine [of Ayurveda] can cure this inner suffering”



Ravigupta thinks:

Si.1.17-19: As for wind (vāyuh), it resides (āśrayo) in the anus (guda-), the sacrum (trika-), and the region between the thighs (śroṇy-). As for bile (pittam), it resides (-sthitam) in the large intestine (pakvāśaya-). As for phlegm (kaphasya), it resides (sthānam) in the stomach (āmāśayaḥ), neck (kaṇṭha-), chest (uro-), head (mūrdha-), and joints (-sandhayaḥ).

It is obvious that there are many differences between the accounts of the location of tri-doṣa in D̐x18173 and *Siddhasāra*, especially regarding the location of wind in the human body.

Finally, with regard to the nature of tri-doṣa, D̐x18173 states:

This bile tastes like mango (*Mangitera Indica*), pomegranate seed and vinegar. Under these circumstances, body heat begins to increase. If such phlegm takes action, it causes cooked rice to be digested, ... beautify the complexion. ... The taste of this phlegm is salty, like fat. If such phlegm takes action, it causes the body to be sturdy and strong. ...

Ravigupata, however, considers:

Si.1.14-16: As for wind (vāyuh), it is cool (śīto), light (laghuḥ), subtle (śūkṣmaḥ), hard (kharo), rough (rūkṣo), unstable (asthiro), and of great strength (balī). It possesses (five) varieties (prabheda-vān): (1) that which causes the breath to proceed (prāṇa-); (2) that which causes speech to emerge (udāna-); (3) that which arranges well (vyāna-); (4) that which causes movement (samāna-), and (5) that which expels impurities (apāna-). As for bile (pittam), it is sour (amlaṁ), pungent (kaṭu) in taste, produces gentle warmth (uṣṇam), causes digestion (pakty-), produces vital fluid (ojo-), and produces the cause (-kāraṇam) of red complexion (rāga-) of the face. As for phlegm (śleṣmā), it is sweet (madhuro), of saline taste (lavaṇaḥ), soft (mṛdu), heavy (guruḥ), and very viscid (apti-picchilaḥ). (p.17)

However, the account of the nature of the tastes of bile and phlegm is basically the same in both D̐x18173 and *Siddhasāra*.

The five points described above are in substantial conformity with the doctrine of tri-doṣa in classic Ayurveda, for example, the first Chapter of Tantra in *Siddhasāra*. However, some Ayurvedic concepts are explained in terms of Chinese medical theory. This phenomenon is known as “culture misreading”. Obvious instances of “culture misreading” are “feeling the pulse”, “inside the pulse [channels]” and “common pulse”. The so-called common pulse is a normal pulse that manifests itself in 4 beats per respiration.

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(T. 42, p. 244b).

The pulse is neither floating nor deep, but even and gentle, with moderate force and regular rhythm. It is characterized by the presence of stomach *qi*, and described using terms such as “vigour” and “force”. There is no account of pulse diagnosis in the teachings of Ayurveda on *aṣṭāṅga-*, *tri-doṣa-*, and *sapta-dhātu*, although similar concepts to those of the channels and points can be found in *Suśruta-saṃhitā*<sup>67</sup>. In Chinese Buddhist versions and commentaries, some translators occasionally use terms such as *Maizhen* 脈診 (examining the pulse, or feeling the pulse), but this is considered to be the result of drawing analogies with Chinese medicine concepts.<sup>68</sup> The method of feeling the pulse emerges much later in India. The first instance of a Sanskrit term for feeling the pulse is *nāḍi-parīkṣā*, which is recorded in *Śārngadhara-saṃhitā* around the thirteenth century.<sup>69</sup>

᱕x18173 says:

When he or she breathes out once, the pulse moves again; when he or she breathes in once, the pulse moves again. During the interval between one exhalation and inhalation, the pulse beats five times (the pulse rhythm is repeated five times). At that moment, the common pulse ...

In fact, the original source of the above passage is the theories of pulse in the fifth folio of *Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問 [Huang Di’s Inner Classic: Basic Questions]. The original text of *Suwen* [Basic Questions], annotated by Wang Bing 王冰 (627 CE) in the Tang period, reads:

When someone breathes out once, the pulse beats; when someone breathes in once, the pulse moves again; and when he or she breathes in again, the pulse also moves again. If the respiration is kept in a constant state, the pulse has five beats per respiration, followed by a deep breath. This is what is meant by as normal person who is healthy and without disease.

The upper and lower energizer (burner) are terms from Chinese medicine. There is no structure analogous to the triple burner in the Ayurveda. The triple burner and tri-doṣa are very different concepts. ᱕x18173 explains foreign concepts in indigenous terms.

The method of explaining foreign terms in ᱕x09888 and ᱕x18173 is very similar

<sup>67</sup> Liao Yuqun 廖育群, “Yindu yixue de mai yu xue” 印度醫學的脈與穴 [The channels and points in Ayurveda], *Zhongguo keji shiliao* 中國科技史料 [China Historical Materials of Science and Technology], 2001:2, pp. 152-167.

<sup>68</sup> Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, “Zhenjiu Yindu gu yishu: Kangfu zhaji zhi er” 針灸印度古醫書——康復剎記之：Tang Yongtong Quanjī 湯用彤全集 [Collected papers of Tang Yongtong], vol.7, Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2000, pp. 12-19.

<sup>69</sup> Ramachandra S. K. ed., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Medicine*, vol. 2, *Basic Concepts*. 1987. New Delhi: Ramdas Bhatkal Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., reprinted 1999, p. 128.

to that of "Matching the meanings" in early translations of Buddhist sūtras from India or Central Asia. Such misreadings illustrate the currents of interaction between two different cultures. These cases also show that the ancient physicians did not accept foreign knowledge wholesale when they encountered heterogeneous cultures. They tried to syncretize Indian Ayurvedic knowledge into indigenous Chinese medicine, although a harmonious reconciliation was not always achieved.

### III: The Background of the transmission of Ayurvedic doctrine in Dunhuang and Turfan

The physical appearance of x09888 is different from that of x18173. The question of whether x18173 was unearthed in Turfan cannot be answered without new data. However, the subject matter of both x09888 and x18173 belongs to Ayurvedic doctrine. Both have a question-and-answer structure. In the group of manuscripts unearthed in Turfan to which x09888 belongs, there are four other manuscripts — x09935, x09936, x10092 and x09178 — which also this catechistic structure. Why was this format adopted? The reason may be that it is that it is a simple and rapid way of communicating unfamiliar foreign medical knowledge to the reader<sup>70</sup>. x18173 may be a part of *Zhu yifang sui* 諸醫方髓 [The Essential Part of Various Selected Medical Remedies]. If this were so, we could call x09888 and x18173 "the manuscripts of *Zhu yi fang sui*".

From the preceding discussion of x09888 and x18173, it can be seen that a close relationship exists between these fragments and the Ayurvedic doctrines cited in the Chinese Buddhist versions. The most representative text, citing Ayurvedic doctrines in concentrated form, is I-tsing's translation of the Chapter on healing illnesses of *Suvarṇaprabhāsaottamarājasūtra*. It is beyond question that the source of both x09888 and x18173 lies in Ayurvedic literature. However, the form of these two fragments reflects the fact that they are not direct translations of any one Ayurvedic text. Moreover, there is a strong possibility that they belong to a manuscript that drew on and translated several Ayurvedic texts. The writer(s) also use terms from the Chinese Buddhist versions as a means of elucidating the original texts. According to the usual sequence in Ayurvedic texts, x09888, which discusses aṣṭāṅga-, should be placed before x18173. Taking the Chapter on healing illnesses of *Suvarṇaprabhāsaottamarājasūtra* as a frame of reference, the order of subject matter of Ayurvedic teachings is as follows: the four or six seasons of the year; the seven basic tissues of the human body; the four illnesses; changes in the four illnesses and the prescription of drugs over the four seasons; the relationship between the digestion and the three humours; the principles of administering drugs for the four

<sup>70</sup> The Chinese medical manuscripts in Dunhuang sometimes also use this style. For example, Dunhuang manuscript P.3287 *Bianmai fa of Shanghan lun* 傷寒論・辨脈法 [Treatise on Cold Damage: Methods of feeling the pulse] uses the question-and-answer format.

illnesses; the qualities required of a good doctor; the content of the eight branches of medicine; dreams and the nature of the patient; omens of death; the curative effects of the three fruits and three pungent medicines. However, the order of contents in ㄟx18173 is the following: the three humours and seven basic tissues; the different locations of the digestion of food; the treatment of illnesses due to the three humours; times and changes of three humours; the location of the three humours in the human body; and the nature of the three humours. By comparing these two sequences, it can be readily seen that ㄟx18173 does not conform to the Chapter on healing illnesses of *Suvarṇaprabhāsaottamarājasūtra*. Thus ㄟx18173 is not a commentary on the Chapter on healing illnesses.

The term *Zongjibing* 總集病, found in ㄟx18173, seems to have been first translated by I-tsing. For example, it is found in *Genben shuoyiqie youbu baiyi jiemo* 根本說一切有部百一羯磨 [*Mūlasarvāstivāda ekasatakarman*] (volume one) and *Suvarṇaprabhāsaottamarājasūtra* (volume nine) in the third year of the Chang An Period (703 CE), and *Foshuo da kongque zhouwang jing* 佛說大孔雀呪王經 [*Mahāmāyūri(vidyārājñī)-(sūtra)*] (volume one) in the first year of the Shen Long Period (705 CE). This evidence indicates that ㄟx18173 was compiled no earlier than 703CE.

Although, as has already been mentioned, the doctrines cited in ㄟx18173 belong essentially to the first chapter Tantra of *Siddhasāra*, this does not imply that *Siddhasāra* is the direct source of ㄟx09888 and ㄟx18173.

Among the Dunhuang medical manuscripts, there are various drugs and prescriptions from India. Previous research has been confined to the Four Great Element of Buddhist medicine. Now, notice must be taken of the Ayurvedic doctrines in the Chinese medical manuscripts from Dunhuang and Turfan, which are similar in content to *Siddhasāra*.

Some non-medical manuscripts from Dunhuang also use the term *basbu*. For instance, Master Huijing's *Wenshijingsbu* 溫室經疏 [Commentary on the *sūtra* of the hothouse] from Dunhuang, now Shanghai Library catalogue No. 068, which was copied in the Tang period, describes the famous Buddhist physician Jīvaka thus:

Jīvaka understands the roots of the four diseases, and is fully versed in the essence of the eight branches of medicine. If Jīvaka carries out acupuncture on a patient, he or she will surely be cured. If Jīvaka administers medicine to a patient, he or she will be well again.

P.4660 *Jiguangming'si gu Suofalü miaozhenzan bingxu* 金光明寺故索法律遼真贊並序 [Song on the picture of Preceptor Suo of Golden Light Temple and foreword], written by Wuzhen 悟真 in the second year of the Wende 文德 period (889 CE), describes Monk Suo as follows:

He puts meditative effort into the eight kinds of liberation, and is acquainted

with the nature of the three emptinesses. He peacefully controls his heart and has a mind to pursue true law. As a disciple of the Northern branch of Zen under Master Shenxiu, he also guides the Southern branch of Zen. Moreover, he is accomplished in both *Shennong Bencao* 神農本草 [The *Materia Medica* of the Yellow Emperor] and the eight branches of medicine.<sup>71</sup>

Thus the monk Master Suo was also a physician, and was familiar not only with Chinese medicine but also Indian Ayurveda.<sup>72</sup>

The third appended fragment of P.2191V relates a story about medical practice that is set in the time of Shazhou Guiyijun 歸義軍 (Return-to-Allegiance Army) regime:

It is also said: For the sake of comparison. In modern times there was a physician whose surname was Linghu at Saiting in Shazhou (Dunhuang). He was well versed in medical remedies. At Dacheng Temple, there was a Vinaya monk called Suo. When the monk's grandfather became ill, Physician Linghu was invited to his home to treat him. Physician Linghu said: "Your fetch does not know your illness." He then gave the patient a medicinal decoction to drink. As a result, his disease was instantly cured. Finally, Physician Linghu cautioned the patient not to eat garlic again after his recovery. When the autumn came, the grandfather had a craving to eat garlic once more. His disease recurred. This news was at once reported to the physician. The physician asked him: "Have you been eating garlic?" "No!" he replied. The physician came into his room and scrutinised his face, then said: "I am sure that you have eaten garlic!" The grandfather was obliged to reply truthfully: "I have eaten three stalks of garlic." Thereupon, the physician gave him a medicinal decoction of medicine to purge away the garlic. There are such people as the physician Linghu who was accomplished in the eight branches of medicine (*Bashu*, 八術). If that is so, how much more true must it be that Boddhisattva is a great physician!

In this story, the physician Linghu was a accomplished in the "eight branches of medicine". Although we do not know whether or not he had actually studied the eight types of Ayurvedic methods, it is evident that the term *bashu* is used in this manuscript as a synonym for medicine.

As regard the historical background of the transmission of Ayurvedic doctrines in Dunhuang and Turfan, this must be seen in the context of the tidal wave of Indian culture and Buddhism that flowed unceasingly along the Silk Road from the Late Han to

<sup>71</sup> Tsong-yi Jao 饒宗頤 ed., *Dunhuang miaozhenzan jiaolu bing yanjiu* 敦煌道真贊校錄並研究, Xinwenfeng chubanshe gongsi, 1994, p. 198.

<sup>72</sup> Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林, Dang Xinlin 黨新林, "Tangdai Dunhuang yiseng kao" 唐代敦煌醫僧考 [A study of Buddhist physicians in Dunhuang in the Tang Dynasty], *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 [Dunhuangology], vol. 20, 1995, pp. 31-46. Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林, "Tang wudai Dunhuang de yishi yanjiu" 唐五代敦煌的醫事研究 [A study of medical practices in Dunhuang from the Tang to Five Eras periods], Lanzhou daxue Dunhuang xue yanjiusuo (ed.), *Dunhuang guiyijun zhuanji yanjiu* 敦煌歸義軍史專題研究 [A monograph on the history of Guiyijun in Dunhuang], Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 1997, p. 517.

the Early Song period. Classic Indian medicine, both the Ayurvedic mainstream and other local medicines influenced by it, including Tocharian, Khotanese and Sogdian medicine from the Western Region, also spread to Dunhuang and Turfan. As an important crossroads of many cultures, Dunhuang absorbed Indian classic medicine. In the famous Buddhist cave library in the Mogao grottoes at Dunhuang, besides a Khotanese version of *Siddhasāra*, there were many other non-Chinese medical manuscripts. These include, for example, a Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual text of *Jīvaka-pustaka*<sup>73</sup>, and prescriptions in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Sogdian and Tocharian. Of course, there is a wealth of Chinese medical materials from Dunhuang.<sup>74</sup> Thus, Dunhuang was a meeting place where many kinds of medical knowledge were collected and syncretized.

Tombs in Astana and Turfan, and the Otani Collection<sup>75</sup> yield not only Chinese medical manuscripts, but also non-Chinese medical fragments in Sanskrit or Tocharian; for example, the fragments of *Bhela-saṃhitā*,<sup>76</sup> *Siddhasāra* and *Yoga-śataka*.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, the epitaph of *Lüshuai* 旅帥 (Battalion Commander) Zhang Xianghuan 張相歡, from the second year of the Yonglong 永隆 Period (681 CE),<sup>78</sup> unearthed in Turfan, mentions two famous physicians, Jivaka and Nāgārjuna,<sup>79</sup> in the Indian Buddhist tradition. These

<sup>73</sup> Sten Konow, *A Medical Text in Khotanenses, Ch.ii 003 of India Office Library*, With Translation and Vocabulary (= Avhandlingar Utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademii Oslo, II Hist.-Filos Klasse, 1940 No. 4), Oslo I Kommissjon Hos Jacob Dybwad, 1941. R. E. Emmerick, "Contributions to the Study of the *Jīvaka-pustaka*", *BSOAS* XLII:2, 1979, pp. 235-243. R. E. Emmerick, "The Mahāsauvarcalādi Ghṛta in Hoernle's Unpublished Edition of the '*Jivakapustaka*'", *JEĀS* (= *Journal of the European Ayurvedic Society*) 5, 1997, pp. 76-81.

<sup>74</sup> Vivienne Lo & Christopher Cullen ed., *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang medical manuscripts*, London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005.

<sup>75</sup> Chen Ming 陳明, "Turfan Chutu hanwen yixue wenshu zhong de wailai yinsu" 吐魯番出土漢文醫學文書中的外來因素 [Foreign Elements in Turfan Chinese Medical Manuscripts], *Xin Shixue* 新史學 [New History], vol. 14, No. 4, Taipei, 2003, pp. 1-63.

<sup>76</sup> Tsutomu Yamashita, "Towards a Critical Edition of the *Bhelasamhitā*", *JEĀS* (= *Journal of the European Ayurvedic Society*) 5, 1997, pp. 19-24.

<sup>77</sup> H. Lüders, "Medizinische Sanskrit-Texte aus Turkestan". *Aus Indiens Kultur. Festgabe Richard von Garbe*. Erlangen, 1927. S. 148-162.

<sup>78</sup> A. Stein, *Innermost Asia, Detailed report of Explorations in central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Iran*, vol. 4, Oxford 1928, p. 125. Chen Guocan 陳國燦, *A. Stein suobuo Turfan wenshu yanjiu* 斯坦因所獲吐魯番文書研究 [A study of Turfan manuscripts obtained by A. Stein] (Revision), Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1997, p. 383. With regard to the influence of Jivaka in Dunhuang and Turfan, see Chen Ming 陳明, "Qipo de xinxiang yanbian jiqi zai Dunhuang Turfan diqu de yinxiang" 耆婆的形象演變及其在敦煌吐魯番地區的影響 [The changing images of Jivaka and his influence: seen through the manuscripts from Dunhuang and Turfan], Guojia tushuguan shanben tezangbu (ed.), *Wenjing xuezhi* 文津學志, vol. 1, Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2003, pp. 138-164.

<sup>79</sup> Vijaya J. Deshpande, "Nāgārjuna and Chinese medicine", in: Oscar Botto, Colette Caillat, Pierre Delaveau, Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, Siegfried Lienhard, G. Jan Meulenbeld, Priya Vrat Sharma (ed), *Du corps humain, au carrefour de plusieurs savoirs en Inde. Mélanges offerts à Arion Rosu par ses collègues et ses amis à l'occasion de son 80<sup>e</sup> anniversaire / The Human Body, at the Crossroads of Multiple Indian Ways of Knowing. Papers Presented to Arion Rosu by his Colleagues and Friends on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday Studia Asiatica* IV (2003) - V (2004), travaux réunis et édités par Eugen Ciurtin, ouvrage publié avec le concours du CNRS, Paris et sous le patronage du CESMEO, Turin, Paris-Bucarest, Diffusion: Éditions

materials prove that Indian medicine also influenced medical practices in medieval Turfan. It is not, therefore, not surprising that *Zbuyifangsui* 諸醫方髓 [The Essence of Various Selected Medical Remedies] from Turfan has become an illustrious example of Sino-Indian medical interchange.

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De Boccard, 2004, pp. 241-257.